

Message Text

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SUBJECT: PRESS COMMENTARY HYPOTHETICAL SPANISH ENTRY NATO

1. JUNE 21 MADRID DAILY EL PAIS (INDEPENDENT LIBERAL LEFT)
SERIES ENTITLED "THE NEW INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF SPAIN"
BY FERNANDO MORAN INCLUDES FOLLOWING NATO COMMENTARY:

2. "SPAIN IS RELATIVELY AND DEFICIENTLY COVERED BY TWO
SYSTEMS: FIRST IS THE GENERAL ONE (INDEPENDENT OF THE
EXISTENCE OF ANY TREATY) OF THE AMERICAN NUCLEAR UMBRELLA.
IF SPAIN IS ESSENTIAL... SPAIN WILL BE DEFENDED. IF IT CAN
BE SACRIFICED, IT WILL BE, SINCE ITS DEFENSE WOULD IMPLY
CATASTROPHIC RISKS FOR THE PROTECTOR. SUCH REASONING BROUGHT
DE GAULLE TO PUT FORWARD THE CREATION OF HIS "FORCE DE FRAPPE."
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...GIVING FRANCE A CAPACITY TO GENERALIZE A CONFLICT LIMITED,
AT THE START, TO YER TERRITORY. THE OTHER COVERING IS THE
TREATY WITH THE UNITED STATES. THIS DOES NOT COVER (ITALICS)
A LOCAL CONFLICT IN WHICH SPAIN IS ENTAGLED (ITALICS).

3. "THE PROBLEMOF THE ALLIANCES -- WOULD ENTRY INTO NATO
SUBSTANTIALLY CHANGE THE SITUATION? THE TOPIC OF NATO DEMANDS

A GENUINE NATIONAL DEBATE, WHICH FOREIGN MINISTER OREJA HAS REPEATEDLY CALLED FOR. I AM GOING TO CONTRIBUTE SOME PROVISIONAL THOUGHTS THAT WOULD PLEASE ME, AS A SPANIARD, WERE THEY TO OPEN A WAY TO A MORE PROFOUND DISCUSSION. THIS DISCUSSION WOULD HAVE TO BE AS PRECISE AS POSSIBLE. IN THE MAY 15 EL PAIS EDITORIAL, IN INDICATING FIVE SUPPOSED ADVANTAGES OF NATO... CERTAIN VAGUE STATEMENTS WERE MADE, APPEALING TO VERY SUBJECTIVE FACTORS ("SPAIN WOULD FEEL PROTECTED...SHE COULD GIVE SHAPE TO HER DEFENSIVE EFFORT...IT WOULD SERVE AS A FRAMEWORK FOR CONCILIATION AND NEGOTIATION...AN UNQUANTIFIABLE BUT CONSIDERABLE POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT...") ETC.

4. "THERE EXIST, IN MY OPINION, FOUR ERRORS OF FOCUS IN RESPECT TO OUR ENTRY INTO NATO: 1) IT IS NOT TRUE THAT ENTRY INTO NATO WOULD SUBSTITUTE FOR THE AGREEMENTS WITH THE UNITED STATES. IT WOULD NOT BE NECESSARILY SUBSTITUTE FOR IT. IF THIS SUBSTITUTION COULD BE ACHIEVED, THE ARGUMENT IN FAVOR OF NATO WOULD BE SERIOUS. BUT IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE BASES WOULD REMAIN. IN THE SAME WAY THAT HAS HAPPENED WITH THE GREEK AND TURKISH, THAT DATE FROM THE TRUMAN PLAN. THIS IS A POINT TO CALIBRATE WITH EXTREME CARE.

5. "2) IT IS INEXACT TO AFFIRM THAT NATO IS A CONDITION OR A PRICE THAT MUST BE PAID FOR MEMBERSHIP...IN THE EEC. IRELAND IS A MEMBER OF THE EEC AND NOT OF NATO. THE INVERSE CASE IS THAT OF NORWAY. THE AGREEMENT FOR ENTRY UNCLASSIFIED

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INTO THE EEC WILL BE NEGOTIATED IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REGIONAL AND GENERAL INTERESTS OF ITS MEMBERS TO THE FRENCH OR ITALIAN FARMERS OUR MEMBERSHIP IN THE ALLIANCE IS A MATTER OF INDIFFERENCE.

6. "3) NATO MEMBERSHIP DOES NOT ADD TO OUR PROTECTION IN LOCAL CONFLICTS. THE ASSUMPTION OF THE TREATY IS A GENERAL ATTACK AGAINST THE WEST. PROTECTION IS NOT AUTOMATIC. THE PERTINENT ARTICLE, NUMBER FIVE, FORESEES CONSULTATIONS AND COMMON MEASURES IN THE CASE OF THIS GENERAL ASSUMPTION.

7. "4) IT IS SOMETIMES SAID THAT ENTRY INTO NATO WOULD SERVE AS A PRETEXT FOR REORGANIZING THE SPANISH ARMED FORCES AND ONE EVEN HEARS THE WHISPERS THAT IT WOULD MAKE THEM MORE "EUROPEAN." THIS LAST CLAIM IS NOTHING LESS THAN OFFENSIVE TO AN OFFICER CORPS THAT IS GIVING PROOFS OF HIGH CIVIC SPIRIT AND EXAMPLARY DISCIPLINE, THAT HAS A GOOD NUMBER OF HIGHLY EDUCATED UNIVERSITY AND HIGHER INSTITUTE GRADUATES. THE ARMED FORCES DO NOT LIVE ISOLATED AND WILL BE AS "EUROPEAN" AND DEMOCRATIC AS WILL BE SPANISH SOCIETY.

8. "TOGETHER WITH THIS LACK OF FOCUS EXIST PROBABLE OBSTACLES THAT SHOULD BE EVALUATED AND QUANTIFIED: 1) A PROBABLE INCREASE IN THE COST OF DEFENSE. IN ANY CASE, INDEPENDENCE FOR SPAIN'S POSITION DEMANDS A MODERNIZATION OF OUR ARMED FORCES, THE COST OF WHICH IS JUSTIFIED BY THIS GOAL; 2) A PROBABLE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL STATUS OF GIBRALTAR UNDER ONE FORMULA OR ANOTHER; 3) A HINDRANCE TO THE POLICY OF AUTONOMY RELATIVE TO THE MEDITERRANEAN, WHICH COULD BE A KEY TO OUR ARAB POLICY; 4) A HINDRANCE TO RELATIONS WITH THE EAST, IN WHOSE MARKETS WE HAVE SOMETHING TO DO; 5) WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT IN THE CANARY ISLANDS, UNDER ONE FORM OF THE OTHER, OF BASES CONNECTED WITH NATO, THE RADICAL COUNTRIES OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY WOULD AALEGE -- AS SOME OF THEM ALREADY HAVE-- THAT THE ISLANDS

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ARE A THREAT TO PROGRESSIVE AFRICA, AND CUBILLO WOULD RECEIVE SUPPORT IN THE COMMITTEE OF LIBERATION;

6) " IT WOULD MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE WARSAW PACT TO ACCEPT THE AUTONOMY AND RELATIVE NEUTRALITY OF YUGOSLAVIA UPON THE DEATH OF TITO." ITEM. RYLANCE

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